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NOTE

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2526th MEETING

Held in New York on Monday, 2 April 1984, at 10.30 a.m.

President: Mr. Vladimir A. KRAVETS (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic).

Present: The representatives of the following States: China, Egypt, France, India, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Peru, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Upper Volta, Zimbabwe.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2526)

1. Adoption of the agenda

2. Letter dated 22 March 1984 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16431)

The meeting was called to order at 11.35 a.m.

Expression of thanks to the retiring President

1. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: As this is the first meeting of the Council for the month of April, I should like on behalf of the Council to pay a tribute to Mr. Javier Arias Stella, the representative of Peru, for the great diplomatic skill, tact and courtesy with which he conducted the business of the Council last month. I am sure that I am speaking for all the members of the Council in expressing deep appreciation to Mr. Arias Stella for his service as President for the month of March.

2. The Ukrainian SSR is taking up the duties of President of the Council with a sense of lofty responsibility. We shall do our utmost to ensure that we perform our duties in the best possible manner. At the same time, I would most cordially urge all speakers during this month to keep to the minimum any expressions of greetings to the incoming President, for that will save us much time. I assure members that, in so doing, they will in no way detract from our deep respect for the representatives and the countries they represent.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Letter dated 22 March 1984 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16431)

3. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: In accordance with the decisions taken at previous meetings [*2522nd and 2523rd meetings*] I invite the Secretary of the People's Committee of the People's Bureau for Foreign Liaison of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to take a place at the Council table; I invite the representatives of Afghanistan, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Ethiopia, the German Democratic Republic, the Islamic Republic of Iran, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Mongolia, Poland, the Sudan, the Syrian Arab Republic and Viet Nam to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Treiki (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Zarif (Afghanistan), Mr. Garvalov (Bulgaria), Mr. Kovačič (Czechoslovakia), Mr. Al-Ashtal (Democratic Yemen), Mr. Ibrahim (Ethiopia), Mr. Ott (German Democratic Republic), Mr. Rajaie-Khorassani (Islamic Republic of Iran), Mr. Kittikhoun (Lao People's Democratic Republic), Mr. Erdenechuluun (Mongolia), Mr. Natorf (Poland), Mr. Birido (Sudan), Mr. El-Fattal (Syrian Arab Republic) and Mr. Le Kim Chung (Viet Nam) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

4. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: I wish to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Cuba and Hungary in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Roa Kourí (Cuba) and Mr. Rácz (Hungary) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

5. Mr. CHAMORRO MORA (Nicaragua) [*interpretation from Spanish*]: First, I should like to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. We are sure that you, the representative of the Ukraine SSR, which has been working for democracy in the world, will guide the Council's deliberations in the customary excellent manner characteristic of your experience and ability.

6. I should like to take this opportunity to congratulate the representative of Peru, Mr. Javier Arias Stella, on the excellent manner in which he conducted the

Council's work last month. Thanks to his contribution, we were able to deal successfully with the subjects on the Council's agenda last month.

7. In his letter of 21 March [*S/16425*], the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya drew the international community's attention to the dangerous situation in the Libyan eastern border area caused by the increased interference by the United States there. The representative of Libya reported to us the presence of AWACS espionage aircraft with a group of fighters in the region and that there were plans to send in more such aircraft in the coming weeks. This information has been broadly corroborated by the American press.

8. We recall that in February 1983, the United States sent four AWACS aircraft and moved the aircraft-carrier *Nimitz* into the vicinity of Libya, under pretexts similar to those now being used. On that occasion the representative of the United States denied that reconnaissance aircraft and others with equipment for interference were flying along the Libyan borders, and in a letter to the Council [*S/15617*] said that the flights of aircraft from the *Nimitz* were routine and that the *Nimitz* was passing through the region. Later, in August 1983, the United States sent four more AWACS aircraft to the region, on the pretext of Libya's threats against Chad. When the Council met on that occasion at Libya's request, my Government denounced United States policies of intimidation: the use or threat of force and the "big stick" throughout the entire world. At the time, the aircraft-carrier *Eisenhower* was located near Libya and the "Bright Star-83" military manoeuvres were being conducted.

9. Today, a year later, the United States is continuing to spy on Libya with its AWACS aircraft and to engage in displays of force against that fraternal non-aligned country. The United States does not understand—or does not wish to understand—that the Libyan revolution, its leaders and people, as well as the revolution in Nicaragua, cannot be defeated by brute force, still less by demonstrations of force. The United States does not understand that its warmongering policies will elicit in response only the just wrath of our peoples, who will rise up in arms and, after a popular revolutionary war, turn their countries into more Viet Nams awaiting United States invading forces. We hope that President Reagan will think twice and that Central America, North Africa, southern Africa and the Middle East will not become places where our citizens will meet their death; nor do we want those regions to become burial-grounds for hundreds of thousands of invading American soldiers—which will surely occur if they challenge the fighting spirit and determination of our peoples.

10. My delegation is not at all surprised at the spirit of adventurism and interventionism underlying United States foreign policy. On many occasions the Council has been the scene of complaints from Libya, Angola, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), Nicaragua and others as a result of the interventionist nature of the United States which, through whatever means available, attempts to impose its imperialist will on our peoples and Governments. We have also witnessed the cynicism that has characterized the various United States representatives who give the name of freedom fighters to the mercenaries of the United States Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), who are trying to overthrow my Government from Honduran territory, and the name of terrorists to the fighting patriots of the PLO and SWAPO, who are just trying to win back their territories occupied by zionism and *apartheid*, régimes which, as we all know, are strategic allies of United States imperialism.

11. I do not intend on this occasion to dwell on denunciations of United States policies in this region, nor will I speak at length about the parallel and similar nature of the policies it is pursuing in Africa and the Middle East. The representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya spoke at considerable length a few days ago about the military interventions of the self-appointed defenders of freedom and democracy throughout the world since the last century. He cited, among other examples and solely with reference to those in Latin America, Grenada, Chile, the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Panama, as well as Nicaragua and El Salvador at the present time, which should be sufficient to make the point.

12. I shall merely adduce some additional serious examples in order to establish the similarity between the actions carried out against Libya and those against my country. At the time of Libya's earlier complaint to the Security Council in August 1983, as the United States was bringing in the aircraft-carrier *Eisenhower* and carrying out the "Bright Star-83" manoeuvres to intimidate Libya, it was carrying out the "Big Pine-II" manoeuvres in Central America, on Honduran territory. Now, at the time of this new complaint, as we witness an increase in the presence of the AWACS aircraft and the creation of alleged Libyan conflicts and acts of aggression in order to stir up enmity between Libya and its neighbours, in Central America and specifically with respect to Nicaragua, efforts to find a negotiated political solution to the problems in our region are being exhausted, the United States military presence is being intensified and acts of aggression from neighbouring countries are being stepped up.

13. All these acts of aggression make us wonder about the validity of the principles of international law to this permanent member of the Council. What respect for the principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of countries has a Government that publicly and brazenly debates the appropriation of $21 million for the murder of Nicaraguans? What respect for the principle of the inviolability of borders has a Government that believes it has the right, based on its technological superiority, to spy on any country by flying through its airspace? According to this logic, any country whose rights are thus violated and which can obtain the necessary tech-

nical means can bring down these planes, in full exercise of the well-known ensuing international right. In my country an incident occurred recently where we were forced to bring down a United States helicopter which, like others before it, entered our airspace to carry out espionage and supply the CIA-backed mercenaries. I wish to explain that we were the first to express regret over the incident, in spite of there having been a flagrant violation of our borders, because it caused the death of a United States citizen, bringing mourning to an honest family in that country, whose only fault was to have served under one of the most inflexible and militaristic Administrations in the history of the United States. However, I wish at the same time to point out that such incidents, if they were to continue, could be used to spark a war between neighbours or justify direct intervention, alone or with the help of friends, as has happened in the past in order to begin wars elsewhere. Let us merely recall the sinking of the *Maine* off Cuba, which was used as a pretext for beginning the war against Spain, and the Tonkin Gulf incident in Viet Nam.

14. Just a few days ago in this same forum [*2521st meeting*], my delegation declared its surprise at the irresponsibility of the Reagan Administration in attempting to obtain $114 million from the Congress for the sowing of death and destruction in Central America. The funds would be taken from an aid programme for hungry African children, thus sowing death in that continent also by allowing the death rate to increase. We also expressed the conviction that sooner or later our African brothers would realize who was the primary cause of their problems and who, by supporting the racist régime of Pretoria, was the main obstacle to their development.

15. Before concluding my statement today, I wish to reiterate our militant solidarity with the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and state our great concern at the political and military actions being conducted by the present United States Administration, whose sole intention is to maintain its hegemonistic interests by keeping the Arab nation divided. We are sure that our Arab brothers know the identity of the main obstacle confronting them—who it is that backs, and, indeed, has a strategic alliance with, the Zionist régime. We are also sure that sooner or later they will unite and free themselves from oppression and aggression and recover their territories that are occupied today and live in peace and tranquillity.

16. The fact that Mr. Reagan needs a foreign-policy triumph today more than ever, especially since his shameful defeat in Lebanon, and solely for electoral ends, should be of fundamental concern to Council members, the non-aligned and the whole international community. We sincerely hope that this does not lead to a conflict of regrettable consequences for mankind, but we believe that the fact just mentioned is where the explanation must be sought for the threats and acts of aggression against the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.

17. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The next speaker is the representative of Mongolia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

18. Mr. ERDENECHULUUN (Mongolia) [*interpretation from Russian*]: On behalf of the Mongolian People's Republic, I should like at the outset to express deep condolences to the Government and people of Guinea on the untimely death of the President of the People's Revolutionary Republic of Guinea, Mr. Ahmed Sékou Touré, an outstanding African statesman and staunch champion of the cause of the freedom and independence of peoples.

19. The Mongolian delegation takes great pleasure in seeing you, Mr. President, presiding over the Security Council, a principal organ of the United Nations, entrusted with the responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. We whole-heartedly welcome you and the delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and wish you the greatest success in the performance of your responsible duties.

[*The speaker continued in English.*]

20. My delegation pays a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Arias Stella, the representative of Peru, for the able manner in which he conducted the Council's work last month.

21. I am grateful to you, Mr. President, and other members of the Council for having given me an opportunity to state the position of my country on the question at present under consideration.

22. The Council is seized of the complaint by the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, which requested an urgent meeting of the Council to consider the deteriorating situation resulting from hostile and provocative acts of the United States directed against that country.

23. In a letter of 20 March 1984 [*S/16425*], as well as in the statement of 28 March by the Secretary of the People's Committee of the People's Bureau for Foreign Liaison of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mr. Ali Treiki [*2522nd meeting*], the attention of the Council was drawn to the causes of the situation currently prevailing in that part of the world.

24. One should point out here that this is not the first time that Libya has become an object of repeated acts of intimidation and direct threats. Last year the Council had to deal on more than one occasion with the United States provocations against the sovereignty of Libya. Today, that country is faced with yet another hostile campaign of threats and intimidation. This time, the recent reported events concerning the incident with an unidentified aircraft which, on 16 March, bombed Omdurman have been exploited for such a campaign.

25. Once again—as if everything was prearranged—reconnaissance AWACS planes and other military

hardware have been dispatched to the region with enviable speed. One hardly needs to recall here the ever-increasing military presence of the United States in the world in general and in that region in particular. The most ominous sign of this can be found in the stationing of nuclear weapons—namely, cruise missiles—a few hundred miles away from African, Mediterranean and other neighbouring countries. Thus a situation has been brought about which seriously endangers international peace and security.

26. It is obvious that these developments can in no way be divorced from the overall policy of United States imperialism, which arbitrarily declares whole regions of the world situated thousands of miles away from the American coasts as zones of "vital interest". In these actions one cannot but see imperialist attempts to impose neo-colonialist solutions on other countries, to consolidate further its positions in that strategically important area rich in mineral resources.

27. It should be noted here that shows of force and muscle flexing have become a matter of routine in imperialist conduct these days. Those policies of the United States Administration are in flagrant contravention of the Charter of the United Nations and the generally accepted norms and principles of international law.

28. The Mongolian People's Republic fully shares the alarm and concern voiced by the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya at the further exacerbation of the situation in that region and expresses its full support for and solidarity with that country in defence of its sovereignty and national independence.

29. We believe that the outstanding issues can and must be resolved through political means in the interests of the peoples of the region without outside interference.

30. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The next speaker is the representative of Afghanistan. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

31. Mr. ZARIF (Afghanistan): I should like, at the outset, to express the sincere condolences of the delegation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan to the delegation of the Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea on the sad demise of President Ahmed Sékou Touré. As a staunch fighter for the cause of his nation's independence from French colonialist rule, President Sékou Touré earned the respect and admiration not only of the people of Guinea but of the peoples all over Africa and the world. He will be long remembered.

32. May I, Sir, extend to you our warmest felicitations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. In view of your outstanding diplomatic and human qualities, we are certain that under your able guidance the Council will satisfactorily discharge its responsibilities. My words of appreciation go also to your predecessor, Mr. Arias Stella, representative of Peru, for the exemplary manner in which he conducted the work of the Council during the busy month of March.

33. It has now become a routine matter for the United States to appear in the Council as a defendant. It has become even more routine for the Council to consider complaints against two of the closest partners of the United States, namely the Zionist entity and the racist minority *apartheid* régime in South Africa. In the case of the United States, however, these complaints do not emanate from one region only: they come from Asia, from Africa and from Latin America.

34. That fact is not just indicative of the hatred of peoples all over the world towards the aggressive, interventionist and warmongering policies of United States imperialism; it is testimony to the determination of Member States to continue their struggle for the preservation of their independence, national sovereignty and territorial integrity, even if it means standing up against the most monstrous military might. It also vividly shows the confidence and trust which Member States place in the Security Council and their expectations of this supreme body responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security.

35. What they have achieved so far has been either futile debate with acrimonious polemics or, at best, a deliberately vague and excessively watered-down resolution. Even such resolutions have remained unimplemented, thanks to the defiance of some of the very members who voted in the affirmative.

36. But they still keep coming to the Council, for the obvious reason that there is no other place in the world with more appropriate responsibility and authority. They come because they feel threatened by those for whom they are no match. They come also because they believe in the peaceful settlement of disputes among nations.

37. This is not the first time that all those reasons have come together to prompt a decision by the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to bring its legitimate case before the Council. Nor is it the first time that the United States has been responsible for the creation of a situation warranting the convening of the Council.

38. It should be recalled that, since the victory of the people's revolution in Libya and the emancipation of the Libyan people from the bondage of United States neo-colonialism, a disproportionately large campaign of lies and defamation has accompanied an all-out United States economic, political and military blockade of and direct armed aggression and acts of provocation against Libya. Through the years, the devilish animosity of the United States towards Libya has developed a frightening, sadistic complexion that manifests itself now in one form and now in another.

39. All the admirers of the late, unlamented Herr Goebbels have just cause for alarm: the reputation of the Hitlerite propagandist is in real danger of being eclipsed by the growing renown of the United States Administration's accursed lying apparatus. The Nazi technique of continuing to repeat a lie in the hope of its acquiring a semblance of truth and of continuing to sling mud with the expectation of some of it sticking is being practised by the inheritors of the mantle of the Third Reich in this regard, who are seeking to perfect it. The technique has been upgraded, with the warlords of Washington seeking to convict others—including the victims—of their own outrageous crimes.

40. Thus, a false and fundamentally distorted image is drawn of Libya and its foreign policy. The initial intention was to force some countries of the region into the American orbit by scaring them with an imaginary and hypothetical threat from Libya. This lie has been so often repeated that even the inventor of the lie, the United States, seems to believe it.

41. The present scenario is all too familiar. It reads as follows: "It is a bird. No, wait: it is a plane: It is a Soviet-made plane. It is a Soviet-made, Libyan-owned plane." But the world observes, "Oh, no; it is an AWACS plane."

42. Little more than a year ago the United States was trumpeting, with full force, charges that Libya was massing its troops along the frontiers of a neighbouring State and was preparing to launch an act of aggression against that State. But long before the smoke-screen dispersed and the propaganda dust settled, little doubt remained in the mind of the international community about the real cause of the escalating tension in that region. The Pentagon's strategists had considered it imperative to deploy more detachments of their armada in the region, and, in order to justify that action, they desperately needed a pretext. The CIA cooked up a design which was carried out in large part by the imperialist disinformation and misinformation monopolies. Libya was to be accused of preparing to attack a neighbouring State. Provocative and slanderous statements were made against Libya, its people, its revolution and its leadership. The aircraft-carriers *Nimitz* and *Eisenhower* were dispatched to roar along the shores of Libya in a deliberate show of force. The "Bright Star" manoeuvres were conducted in the close proximity of Libyan territory with full participation by United States ground, naval and air forces. In a stark act of aggression, United States fighter-planes belonging to the Sixth Fleet attacked Libyan planes which were on a reconnaissance flight over the territorial waters of Libya and shot down two of the Libyan aircraft. The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, after examining the situation at the request of Libya, condemned the United States act of aggression. The Security Council, however, was paralysed in its meetings on the subject in February and August 1983, owing to the veto cast by the United States. Since then, many covert and overt attempts have been made to destabilize Libya and to bring about a deterioration of the situation in the region.

43. The Council is expected by all small and militarily weak Member States to call to order those States—particularly those which are permanent members of the Council—which tend to pose a threat to international peace and security.

44. As Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and President of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, said on the occasion of the Afghan new year, which begins on 20 March:

> "We consider it our main duty to defend peace and security in the international arena. Pursuing this policy, the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan strongly condemns the strivings of the imperialists, headed by United States imperialism, directed towards the intensification of tension in the world and intervention in the internal affairs of independent countries, and its militaristic and warmongering policy."

45. Mr. President, I should like to conclude by thanking you and, through you, the Council for affording my delegation the opportunity to appear before the Council and to make this statement.

46. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The next speaker is the representative of Czechoslovakia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

47. Mr. KOVAČIČ (Czechoslovakia): It was with great sorrow that the Government and the people of Czechoslovakia received the news of the death of President Ahmed Sékou Touré of Guinea, a great son of Africa, who throughout his life strove for the liberation of the black continent in order to rid Africa of colonialism and neo-colonialism and for the unity and solidarity of the African nation. We shall remember his contribution to the forming of the Organization of African Unity and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and to the constant growth of their progressive role; and we shall not forget his personal and political contribution to the development of friendship and co-operation between the Czechoslovak and Guinean peoples. On behalf of the Czechoslovak delegation, I should like to convey through you, Sir, our profound condolences to the people and the Government of Guinea and to President Sékou Touré's family.

48. I wish at the outset to thank you, Mr. President, and all the other members of the Council for the opportunity to address this forum, as the representative of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, on the issue on the agenda today. Let me also extend to you, the representative of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, my sincerest congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the current

month and express my profound conviction that your personal qualities and diplomatic skill and experience guarantee the fulfilment of the mission and the mandate of the Council to safeguard international peace and security. May I also express my appreciation of the exemplary performance of your predecessor in the presidency, Mr. Javier Arias Stella, the representative of Peru.

49. After a lapse of not much more than seven months, the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya has again been compelled to turn to the Council in a situation where it is being subjected to hostile campaigns and provocations and its security increasingly threatened. The Council must again deal with acts directed against a sovereign Member State which are incompatible with the Charter and the principles of international conduct among States. And again the same forces in the United States are connected with these acts.

50. This time the pretext given for hostile anti-Libyan statements by leading representatives of the United States, for stepped-up provocative military measures and for fanning hostility among neighbouring Arab States against Libya is the alleged participation by Libya in the bombing of a Sudanese town. Belligerent measures by the United States followed with remarkable speed and purpose—very much like the armed aggression against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, on the pretext of the so-called Tonkin Gulf incident, which, as has been amply proved, was staged by the United States itself; and very much like the recent armed aggression against Grenada, on the equally artificially construed pretext of an alleged threat to the lives of United States citizens.

51. Hostile acts by the United States against Libya are neither new nor isolated. Almost immediately after the victory of the anti-imperialist and anti-colonial revolution in Libya, that country has been the target of attacks and of military, political and economic pressure by the United States and other imperialist Powers. These acts must, at the same time, be seen within the context of the efforts by imperialist forces, headed by the United States, to regain supremacy over the nations of Africa, to limit those nations' sovereignty and independence and to make them docile in keeping with neo-colonialist behaviour.

52. The belligerent acts against Libya are not an isolated phenomenon in the foreign-policy strategy of the United States. The Washington Administration is stepping up armaments, carrying out a policy of blackmail and diktat and arbitrarily proclaiming so-called United States spheres of vital interests. It has become apparent that this Administration does not at all hesitate to use armed force to suppress revolutionary liberation movements, as attested to by the aggression against Grenada, the events in Lebanon and the situation with regard to Nicaragua. The deployment of new United States nuclear first-strike weapons on the territories of three Western European countries, pressure and threats against Cuba, Syria and other non-aligned and progressive developing nations and the strengthening of the United States presence in the Indian Ocean, the Persian Gulf and the Mediterranean —all this is fraught with great danger. It is precisely the stepped-up armaments, the acts of pressure and aggression by the reactionary forces of imperialism, headed by the United States, such as the hostile acts against Libya, which must be seen as being at the root of the deteriorating international situation.

53. The Czechoslovak Government and people are gravely concerned at the escalating acts of pressure and provocation against the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, a sovereign independent State actively participating in the anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist and anti-racist struggle of the entire progressive mankind, a State whose extensive relations with my own country have been reflected in a treaty of friendship and co-operation and are being further developed on that basis to the benefit of the peoples of both countries.

54. The Government and the people of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic resolutely condemn the hostile acts against Libya and its friendly people and against Libyan sovereignty and independence—acts which, at the same time, constitute a threat to international peace and security. We are in complete solidarity with the Libyan people, which resolutely resists these provocations and this pressure. It is our expectation that the consideration of Libya's legitimate complaint in the Council will result in the halting of these arbitrary acts.

55. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The next speaker is the representative of Cuba. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

56. Mr. ROA KOURÍ (Cuba) [*interpretation from Spanish*]: Mr. President, I would like first of all to convey to you our keen satisfaction at seeing you presiding over the meetings of the Council this month. Your recognized talent and diplomatic skill, as well as your commitment to principles, guarantee beforehand the success of our work.

57. As I thank the other members, through you, for giving me the opportunity to take part in today's debate, I would like to say how pleased my delegation was over the impeccable way in which Mr. Javier Arias Stella, representative of Peru, conducted the work of the Council in March.

58. In the last few weeks we have witnessed a dangerous aggravation of the situation in the Middle East and the eastern portion of North Africa.

59. After the failure of reckless United States and Israeli meddling in Lebanon, where the patriotic forces prevented the consummation of a new betrayal of the Arab nation and the cause of the Palestinian people,

like the one hatched at Camp David in 1978, imperialism is trying to devise new excuses for maintaining and broadening its military presence in the region while at the same time channelling its policy against the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya in new directions.

60. Whereas in the past the United States violated Libyan sovereignty and attacked aeroplanes of that non-aligned country over the Gulf of Sidra, acts that were condemned by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, now it is devising the fable of a Libyan bombing of Omdurman in the neighbouring Sudan in order to increase its military aid to allies in the region and to send new AWACS spy planes to strengthen its activities against the revolutionary peoples and countries of Africa and the Middle East.

61. This is not a new technique. Twenty-three years ago, in this same forum, the then representative of the United States stated with characteristic impudence that Cuban Air Force aircraft flown by "rebel officers" were to blame for the bombing of the airports of Havana on 15 April 1961. However, everyone knows that those planes, in fact, belonged to the United States Air Force and had been dispatched by the CIA to guarantee control of the air for the mercenary forces which it sent a few days later against Playa Girón, where imperialism suffered a historic defeat.

62. Let us also recall the Gulf of Tonkin incident and the mining of Vietnamese ports which were a prelude to the dirty imperialist war against heroic Viet Nam. In the last few days, the sinister hand of the CIA has become evident yet again in Nicaragua with the mining of various ports of that fraternal country, an action that is a breach of international law and the Charter of the United Nations and which cannot fail to acquire special meaning in the light of these precedents.

63. There can be no doubt at all that the community of nations, and in particular the Council, whose prime responsibility is the maintenance of international peace and security, have very good reason to be disturbed in the light of the dangerous turn taken by the international situation at the present time as a consequence of the warmongering adventurism that has been manifested by each of the acts of the current United States Administration.

64. Old conflicts remain unresolved while new focal points of tension are in danger of assuming greater and more dangerous proportions.

65. Genuine peace initiatives, such as the United Nations plan for Namibia, the Fez plan, the resolutions of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine and the peace-seeking efforts of the Contadora Group meet with undisguised hostility on the part of imperialism when they do not simply become bogged down in the dead end of mere formal support lacking a genuine and necessary political will to find just and lasting solutions to the conflicts.

66. Therefore it is essential, in no uncertain terms, to denounce imperialism, whether in the case of its stationing of new nuclear devices in Western Europe in the vain attempt to alter in its favour the international balance of forces; when it blocks any path to understanding or a solution of the grave economic and financial problems facing the underdeveloped countries; or when it seeks to drown in blood the aspirations of the peoples, intervening in the internal affairs of other countries, as in the case of El Salvador, or invade them, as in the case of Grenada, or destabilizing their Governments, as in the case of Nicaragua.

67. The threats now hovering over the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya are identical to those daily made against Nicaragua or against my country, against the patriots of the Polisario Front, or the Salvadorian Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front, against the People's Republic of Angola or the Syrian Arab Republic, against the PLO, the African National Congress of South Africa or SWAPO.

68. The revolutionary Government of Cuba—which holds as unswerving principles of its foreign policy solidarity with the peoples struggling for their liberation; the defence of peace and security of all States, large and small; the struggle to bring about international détente; the right of peoples to development and to a genuinely independent life; the establishment of a new international economic order; and the advent of a world free of wars, nuclear weapons and military blocs—firmly supports its Libyan brothers and their right to denounce the policy of aggression and pressure unleashed against the Jamahiriya by the United States Government.

69. It is essential to bring to an end the political and military interference of imperialism in the Middle East and neighbouring regions, as well as all acts of provocation and threats to the sovereignty of Libya. If the Council does not once and for all bridle the warhorse of imperialism, no one tomorrow will be able to halt the emergence of a new world conflict which could put an end to life on earth.

70. We trust that sooner rather than later the conviction that such a monstrous destiny is possible will ensure that reason and justice prevail in international relations.

71. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The next speaker is the representative of Hungary. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

72. Mr. RÁCZ (Hungary): Mr. President, at the very outset I should like sincerely to thank you and, through you, the other members of the Council for inviting my delegation to the deliberations of this body and for giving me the opportunity to express our view with regard to the item on the agenda.

73. But before I turn to the issue under discussion, please allow me to convey our condolences to the delegation of Guinea on the untimely passing away of President Ahmed Sékou Touré, a great son of Africa and one of the founding fathers of the Organization of African Unity. Mr. Sékou Touré's resolute stand and unceasing activities for the elimination of the shameful colonial system and for independence, peace and development, as well as his uncompromising struggle against all forms of exploitation, earned him respect and international prestige. We are confident that his devotion will always serve as a bright example to the generations to come and will continue to inspire those who are struggling for the same lofty goals.

74. It is a great honour and privilege for me to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of April. It is my pleasure to see in the Chair a representative of the neighbourly Ukrainian people, with which we have traditionally good, fraternal relations, and to express my confidence that your known diplomatic skill and wisdom will contribute greatly to the success of the Council's work. I should also like to express our appreciation of the exemplary manner in which your predecessor, the representative of Peru, conducted the work of the Council last month.

75. The international community has become very sensitive to every kind of international tension—and rightly so, because in many parts of the world the dimensions of confrontation are growing to dangerous proportions. Today the Council is discussing an issue which has been in the forefront of attention for some time. This is not the first time that Libya has had to resort to requesting the calling of a meeting of the Council because its security has been threatened by the military presence of a Power alien to the region. The details of the past developments and those of the overall propaganda campaign to which Libya has for many years been subjected are too well known to all present.

76. The sending by the United States of two AWACS aircraft to the region to carry out spy missions against Libya is yet another manifestation of the anti-Libyan manoeuvres that constitute an act of provocation and amount to a military threat. More significant is that this step and the hysteria that accompanied it clearly demonstrate that some of the influential circles in international politics will stop at nothing to use any pretext for muscle-flexing. Those circles keep on stubbornly ignoring the genuine interests of mankind and the corresponding wish of all peoples to alleviate international tension and to promote the spirit of mutual understanding among nations.

77. As several speakers who have spoken before me in this debate have pointed out, the real aim of the United States Administration in North Africa, as it is in many other parts of the world, is to strengthen its position and to increase its military presence—even in faraway regions. In pursuing these goals a double standard is being applied, which means blind forgiveness *vis-à-vis* some régimes and all kinds of pressure against independent nations that are not to Washington's liking. But international law and the Charter of the United Nations do not differentiate in terms of friendly or unfriendly States. Their principles and provisions aimed at protecting the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of all States must be respected, with no exception.

78. Hungary is in full solidarity with Libya and with every nation struggling for the respect for, and full realization of, the aforementioned principles, for genuine independence and against external pressure.

79. The aim of the ongoing campaign against Libya is not only to try to intimidate that country, to discredit it among the African nations, to sow the seeds of discord and conflict among peoples with common traditions and similar aspirations—a policy well known from colonial times—but also deliberately to poison the international atmosphere. This is a very dangerous course, because no one can lose sight of the possibility that provocations of this nature may lead to unpredictable consequences, jeopardize the stability of the region in question and threaten international peace and security as a whole. This is why we feel concern about any sign of an increase in the mood of confrontation and any developments that add to the strains of the already tense international situation. It is our firm conviction that in the long run only reason, self-restraint and mutual respect for one another's interests can bring about the normalization and development of relations among all countries and peoples the world over.

80. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: I now call on the Secretary of the People's Committee of the People's Bureau for Foreign Liaison of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.

81. Mr. TREIKI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) [*interpretation from Arabic*]: I should like to extend to you, Sir, the congratulations of the delegation of the Jamahiriya on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. I congratulate you not only because you represent a friendly country which is bound to my country by links of friendship and co-operation, but also because of your well-known ability and wisdom, which will ensure that the Council's work for this month is crowned with success.

82. I also extend the thanks and appreciation of my delegation for the constructive and outstanding manner in which your predecessor, Mr. Arias Stella, the representative of Peru, conducted the Council's business last month.

83. The Council is meeting on the same day to discuss complaints from two small, peaceable, non-aligned countries about intervention and aggression by the United States Administration. I believe that it is rare in the Council's history for it to witness such a situation,

in which the delegations of two small countries lodge complaints against a permanent member of the Council, which is supposed to be responsible for the maintenance of peace and security and respect for the Charter of the United Nations and for defence of its principles. But those who drew up the Charter and agreed to give the United States permanent membership of the Council never thought, I think, that the annals of the Organization, and of the Council in particular, would be replete with innumerable violations of the Charter by the United States. Indeed, it has launched aggression at the same time against Nicaragua, Libya, Angola, Palestine and in various other parts of the world.

84. As small, non-aligned countries we do not seek hostility for the sake of hostility, and we do not seek problems for the sake of problems. We want to live in peace. We want to be free in our countries, free to choose our socio-economic systems as we deem appropriate. Millions of human beings have been sacrificed in defence of our freedom, and we do not want to turn that freedom over to the United States.

85. We are willing to engage in dialogue, and to establish sound relations with all in accordance with principles and mutual respect. But we will not acquiesce, and we will not sell our independence, even for billions of dollars. We want problems among States to be solved peacefully through bilateral or regional channels.

86. The picture is becoming clearer every day. President Nimeiri announced today his discovery of a *coup* attempt in the Sudan. His declaration concerning that attempt clarifies the fabrications and the scenario and the real reason for what has happened. We do not want to interfere in the internal affairs of the Sudan, but we will not accept the exploitation of the fraternal Sudan by the enemies of the Arab nation and the allies of zionism to commit aggression against us and create problems between us and our brothers.

87. As members are aware, in recent days the delegations of many States—European, Latin American, African and Asian—have spoken before the Council. All have been unanimous in condemning the aggression. Indeed, members have probably noted that not a single one has defended the United States, in spite of its billions, its armadas, its Rapid Deployment Forces and manoeuvres. That fact holds the promise that the world is still all right—that neither force nor billions or dollars can buy the conscience of peoples. Still less can the aircraft-carrier policy force peoples to abandon their convictions.

88. The Council must shoulder its responsibilities and tell the United States to desist from violating the Charter and taking lightly the Security Council and the United Nations. It must tell the United States that respect and friendship cannot be bought with dollars, cannot be achieved by the aircraft-carriers the *New Jersey* or the *Eisenhower*. It must tell the United States to stop interfering in the affairs of other States. Such an appeal may be useful, though, unfortunately, we all know that the great Power in question, with its tremendous potential, which could have been harnessed in the service of peace and the prosperity of peoples, has been humiliated and manipulated by world zionism into using that potential for its own benefit and for the oppression of peoples.

89. Those who have been following developments in the United States election campaign can see the unfortunate extent of the penetration by this monstrous octopus, the movement known as zionism. The candidates compete with one another as though they were candidates for an election in Israel, defending the Zionist entity. They argue over who would be the first to move the embassy to Jerusalem, despite the numerous resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly.

90. I would assure the Council that my delegation and our small, peaceable people are proud of the great support and all the backing and solidarity on the part of peace- and freedom-loving peoples. But even if the Council remains unable to adopt an appropriate resolution, owing to circumstances which are well known to its members, there will be an end to injustice. Even if they are small, peoples are able to make sacrifices.

91. The people of the Jamahiriya, which is committed to all international laws and instruments, affirms its full confidence in the Council and its full belief in the United Nations and its survival, although some would like to wave us a fond farewell, as has been said in the Council. The United Nations, its principles and its objectives will survive, and the aggressors will meet their just end. The history of peoples—most recently in Viet Nam—has taught us that the forces of injustice will meet their end.

92. Mr. CLARK (United States of America): We, too, wish to extend to you, Sir, congratulations on your assuming the presidency for this month, and we trust you will discharge your heavy responsibilities with great distinction and impartiality.

93. I should just like to say that we cannot agree that the dreary litany—to which the Council has listened so patiently—by non-members of the Council, members not known for their independent voting record, and by the most aligned members of the non-aligned, means much of anything at all.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.

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